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## SOME SYRIAC INSCRIPTIONS OF THE 2nd-3rd CENTURY A.D.

By J. B. SEGAL

THE inscriptions described in this article were discovered in the course of a short journey which I made in the vilayet of Urfa, Turkey, in May-June, 1952. It is my pleasant duty to thank those who made this journey possible—the School of Oriental and African Studies, who granted me leave to travel to Turkey, and the officials of the Turkish Department of Antiquities, who accorded me facilities to operate in that remote area of the country. I am especially grateful to Mr. Seton Lloyd, Director of the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, for his generous encouragement and help; Mr. Lloyd had visited Sumatar Harabesi during the previous year, and it was he who drew my attention to the monuments there.

The Syriac text of these inscriptions is here published for the first time in facsimile and with transcription, translation, and notes. One inscription (No. 14) consists of the names of seven personages in a mosaic family-portrait of exceptional beauty, which I found on the floor of a cave outside Urfa (the ancient Edessa). This is, on historical grounds, to be assigned to the late 2nd or the early 3rd century A.D.<sup>1</sup>; an accurate coloured drawing of the mosaic by Mrs. Seton Lloyd has already appeared in the *Illustrated London News*.<sup>2</sup> The remaining thirteen texts consist of eight brief memorial records (Nos. 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, and 13), a formal declaration in the name of the deity Šîn (?) perhaps recording the deposit of a treasure (No. 3), two inscriptions each recording the setting-up of an 'image' in relief (Nos. 2 and 4) and two longer inscriptions recording the dedication of an altar and pillar and of a pillar and stool (Nos. 11 and 12).

This group of thirteen inscriptions are all situated on a single mount at Sumatar Harabesi, in the Tektek mountains about 100 kilometres south-east of Urfa. They are incised deep in the face of the rock. Three (Nos. 1, 2, and 3) stand at the side of a bust in relief and a fourth (No. 4) at the side of a full-length male figure in relief on the northern flank of the summit. The others are on the bare summit itself. No buildings are standing on this 'blessed mount' (as it is called in one inscription), but dressed stones lie in disorder at its base, mainly on its western side.

Ruined stone buildings lie in an uneven arc around the mount at a radius of little more than half a mile. They appear to have no inscriptions. But by the side of a wadi about five minutes' walk north-west of the mount is a cave whose walls are covered with at least ten full-length figures in relief and ten brief

<sup>1</sup> See *Anat. Studies*, 118. (A list of the principal abbreviations used in this article appears on p. 35.)

<sup>2</sup> 21st February, 1953.

inscriptions in Syriac. The contents of this cave were accurately recorded by M. Henri Pognon, who crossed the Tektek mountains in 1901 and 1905.<sup>1</sup> No other European travellers are known to have published any record of a visit to Sumatar Harabesi.<sup>2</sup> It is to be noted that the inscriptions on the mount at Sumatar occupy the highest and most prominent position in the immediate area. Since Pognon—a competent observer—did not find them, it may be deduced that they were brought to light after 1905 by some local agency.

The twenty-three Sumatar inscriptions of the mount and the cave are undoubtedly the largest group of Syriac inscriptions in stone discovered so far on a single site. Those of the cave belong to approximately the same period as the inscriptions of the mount; they have points of similarity both in style of writing and in names and titles. But the inscriptions of the mount, which are discussed below, are of greater interest for two reasons. In the first place, three of them bear a date. One (No. 4) is inscribed 13th Adar 476, and two others (Nos. 11 and 12) 1st Šebaṭ in the same year. These dates are to be calculated, as in other documents of this period and of this area, according to the Seleucid era<sup>3</sup>; they correspond to 165 A.D. The Sumatar monuments include, then, the earliest dated Syriac inscriptions extant—with the single exception of the tomb-inscription at Serrīn.<sup>4</sup>

From these dated monuments we may derive certain information about the Syriac of this period. The round script of most of the texts displays an elegance that one expects from the cultured milieu of Edessa in the 2nd century. Individual letters, with few exceptions, have already acquired the form they bear in an Estrangelā manuscript copied at Edessa 250 years later.<sup>5</sup> The inscriptions are engraved with care. Only in one (No. 3) are words apparently permitted to extend beyond the line; but the reading of this inscription is doubtful. It will be observed that Nos. 11 and 12 both employ **𐤌** for *š* in the verb *šm* where classical Syriac has **ܫ**; the same is true also of No. 3, if my provisional reading is correct.<sup>6</sup>

In the second place, the texts from Sumatar prove that here was a centre of pagan worship of at least local importance. Of the Syriac inscriptions that have survived in the immediate neighbourhood of the ancient Edessa no more than three may be regarded as beyond doubt pagan.<sup>7</sup> None has survived at near-by

<sup>1</sup> Pognon, 23 ff.

<sup>2</sup> C. E. Sachau mentions ancient sites in the Tektek mountains, but did not inspect them; *Reise in Syrien und Mesopotamien*, 1883, 224. S. Guyer passed through this area in 1910, but did not visit Sumatar; *My journey down the Tigris*, 1925, 84 ff.

<sup>3</sup> See, for example, *Anat. Studies*, 104.

<sup>4</sup> This is dated 385, i.e. A.D. 73–4. See Moritz, 158 ff., and Pognon, 15 ff.

<sup>5</sup> See Appendix, p. 30 below.

<sup>6</sup> See inscription No. 3, l. 7, note (a) (p. 19), and No. 11, l. 3, note (a) (p. 25).

<sup>7</sup> They are the inscription of G'W (?), the inscription on the column of Urfa citadel, and the mosaic floor whose text is given below as No. 14. Also pagan may be the mosaic inscription of the tomb of Aphṭūhā, the two inscriptions discussed by E. Renan in *JA.*, Feb.–March, 1883, 240 ff., and the inscription from Urfa referred to in the note on No. 1, l. 1 (p. 17). See *Anat. Studies*, 116 f. I have there regarded the inscriptions on the tomb of Amašmeš as Syriac (following Sachau and Pognon). But it is probable that they are in Palmyrene; see below, n. 1, p. 31.

Harran and in its vicinity,<sup>1</sup> although the inhabitants continued openly to observe pagan practices beyond the 10th century A.D. The Sumatar texts are of value in providing first-hand evidence, however scanty, of a heathen cult of Osrhoëne of the 2nd century.


I have discussed elsewhere the archæological, historical, and religious background of the Sumatar monuments,<sup>2</sup> and I have suggested there that worship at Sumatar was directed to the seven planets, among them the moon-deity Sin.<sup>3</sup> It may be remarked that the planets were the subject of study at Edessa at this period; Bardaisan himself is said to have written a tract on the conjunction of the planets. There appears to have been a religious association between Sumatar and Edessa in the 2nd century, and there may well be affinities between the religious practices of Sumatar at that time and those of the Harranian 'Sabians' eight centuries later.<sup>4</sup> The deity called Mārīlāhā at Sumatar is likely to have been a supreme god who was thought, as among the Harranian pagans, to govern the universe through the agency of the planets. We cannot, however, establish with any certainty the identity of this deity. It is possible that Mārīlāhā is to be equated with Bē'el Šēmīn. We are told that this god was worshipped by the men of Bēth Hūr (itself a colony of Harran) in the 5th century with the title of 'chief of the gods'.<sup>5</sup> In Palmyrene inscriptions of the 2nd century he is given the epithet *mārē 'ālmā*.<sup>6</sup> It has been held, moreover, that the deity addressed in Palmyrene texts by the periphrastic title 'he whose name is blessed for evermore' is also to be identified as Bē'el Šēmīn<sup>7</sup>; these texts belong to the 2nd-3rd centuries A.D., the period, that is, of the Sumatar inscriptions.

The equation of Mārīlāhā of Sumatar with Bē'el Šēmīn of Palmyra can, however, be no more than a hypothesis. We have no grounds for assuming any direct religious link between Edessa and its dependencies on the one hand and Palmyra on the other.<sup>8</sup> Culturally, it is true, there may well have been an association between the two peoples. The scripts of Palmyrene and that of Syriac are closely related; and the inscriptions of Amašmeš at Dēr Ya'qūb outside Urfa are probably in Palmyrene rather than in Syriac.<sup>9</sup> Yet it would be venturesome to deduce much from this cultural association. The thesis has

<sup>1</sup> At Harran I obtained the texts of two unpublished inscriptions in Syriac, through the good offices of Dr. D. S. Rice. One is from a church; the other, a tombstone, is in a more archaic script and may be pagan. Both will be published shortly.

<sup>2</sup> *Anat. Studies*, 97.

<sup>3</sup> See below, No. 2, l. 3, and perhaps No. 3, l. 11.

<sup>4</sup> A close connexion between the heathens of Harran and those of Edessa is certain. That 'Sabian' rites were also practised at Edessa may be shown by a passage in Cureton, . The pagan festival on 8th Nisan described there suits well the Harranian festival on the same day described by Ibn al-Nadīm (Chwolson, ii. 23 f.).

<sup>5</sup> G. Bickell, *S. Isaaci Antiocheni . . . opera omnia*, 1873, 201, l. 78.

<sup>6</sup> See Seyrig, 'Antiquités syriennes', *Syria*, xiv, 1933, 246 ff.; Février, 107 ff.

<sup>7</sup> Seyrig, op. cit., 248; Février, 125; cf. Starcky, 159, 170.

<sup>8</sup> For this reason I have not discussed the pictorial representation of the planets at Palmyra in *Anat. Studies*. On this see Seyrig, op. cit., 255.

<sup>9</sup> See below, n. 1, p. 31.



- ܒܪ ܕܩܘܙ 1 Bar KWZ'  
 ܕܒܝܐ ܕܒܝܐ ܕܒܝܐ 2 Remembered be <sup>(a)</sup> Zabbai <sup>(b)</sup> and his  
 sons  
 ܕܒܝܐ ܕܒܝܐ 3 before the god

L. 1: This name is found in an undated pagan inscription from Urfa; N. Giron, 'Notes épigraphiques', *Mélanges de l'Université St. Joseph*, v, 1911, 77, and E. Littmann, 'Eine altsyrische Inschrift', *ZA.*, 1912, 379 ff. It occurs also in Nabataean (*RES.*, 1292; Cantineau, *Nab.*, 106; Littmann, 15 f.), and perhaps in a Greek form in Luke viii, 3. The reading BWZ' is less likely.

As in Nos. 2 and 7 and probably in No. 8, the memorial record is introduced by a name which has no apparent connexion with the main body of the text. It is likely to be the name of the clan or the family-group most concerned to perpetuate the memory of the deceased.

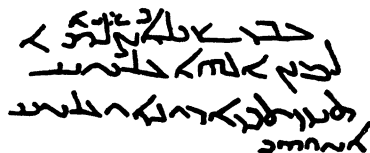
L. 2: (a) This formula (and its Greek equivalent  $\mu\eta\eta\sigma\theta\eta$ , also abbreviated to  $\mu\nu$ ) is frequent in pagan inscriptions. So in Palmyr. (*Dura*, 1930-1, 84, 95, etc.; Starcky, 144, 150, 153, 159, etc.), at Hatra (Caquot, 90 [No. 2], 91 [No. 4], 96 [No. 13], etc.), and in Nabat. (Cooke, 258, 260, 261; Littmann, 17); it is found in Hebrew (*RES.* 862). The full phrase ܕܒܝܐ ܕܒܝܐ ܕܒܝܐ occurs in Palmyr. at Dura (*Dura*, 1929-30, 68 ff.); cf. Targum ܕܒܝܐ ܕܒܝܐ ܕܒܝܐ.

The predicate in the sg. followed by more than one subject occurs in the same phrase in these Sumatar texts in Nos. 5, 6, 8, 13, and perhaps in No. 10; so in Nabat. (*RES.* 1106, 1116). This is, of course, common Semitic usage. In Palmyr. and Nabat. we find examples of this word as a predicate also in the pl. (e.g. Starcky, 162, 173; Cantineau, *Nab.*, 37).

(b) Also in Palmyr. (Cooke, 291; Starcky, 151; H. Ingholt, *Syria*, vi, 1926, 129, 138; Starcky, *Syria*, xxvi, 1949, 61) and in Hebrew (Ezra 10: 28; Neh. 3: 20); cf. Noth, s.v. ZKY is unlikely here.

L. 3: Probably Sin; see No. 2, l. 3.

2. Sumatar Harabesi; on the left of bust (see No. 1). From photographs, rubbings, and drawings. (Plate III.)



Scale ——— 10 20 30 cms.

- ܒܪ ܕܩܘܙ 1 Bar Šilā (?)  
 ܕܒܝܐ ܕܒܝܐ 2 Šilā<sup>(a)</sup> made the image  
 ܕܒܝܐ ܕܒܝܐ 3 to Sin the god <sup>(a)</sup> for the life of <sup>(b)</sup>  
 ܕܒܝܐ ܕܒܝܐ 4 Tiridates <sup>(a)</sup> son of Adhōnā <sup>(b)</sup> and for  
 the life of  
 ܕܒܝܐ 5 his brethren.

L. 2 : (a) Also in the cave inscriptions at Sumatar (Pognon, 28). This form of the name is found in Targum שִׁילָשׁ and Greek Σίλας (e.g. *Dura*, 1932-3, 338 ; cf. Σιλάας, *Dura*, 1932-3, 135 ; Wuthnow, s. Σίλα). In Palmyr. the medial ש is retained (Cooke, 282 ; de Vogüé, i. 65) ; so Greek Σεειλᾱ.

L. 3 : (a) On the worship of Sin and other planetary deities in Osrhoene see *Anat. Studies*, 108 ff.

(b) The formula is widespread ; so in Palmyr. (Cantineau, *Inscr.*, ii. 40 ; Starcky, 146, 149, 156, 165, etc.), at Hatra (Caquot, 99 [No. 20]), in Nabat. (Cantineau, *Nab.*, 6, 40), in Phœnician (Cooke, 86). The phrase is written as one word in the Sumatar texts ; see also No. 11, ll. 4-5.

L. 4 : (a) So in Nos. 5, l. 2, 6, l. 4, 11, l. 2, 12, l. 6, and in the cave inscriptions (Pognon, 31, 33). The name is found at Edessa (Cureton, ܡܕܝܢܐ, l. 18), in Palmyr. (*RES.* 88), and in Greek and Latin at Dura (*Dura*, 1932-3, 36 ; 1928-9, 148-151).

(b) This name occurs frequently in the Sumatar inscriptions ; below Nos. 5, ll. 1, 5, 6, l. 1, 11, ll. 2, 4, 12, l. 2, 13, l. 2. So also in the cave inscriptions (Pognon, 31, 33). cf. ܐܕܢ at Dura (Cumont, 447 f. [No. 129]) and ܒܢܝ ܕܝ ܐܕܢܐ ܒܢܝ ܐܕܢܐ, Bani surnamed Adhōnā (de Vogüé, i. 39). The name ܐܕܢ is found in an Aramaic papyrus in Egypt (Dupont-Sommer, 'Un papyrus araméen d'époque saïte', *Semitica*, i, 1948, 43 ff.).

L. 5 : Or : brother. The Sumatar inscriptions, like other early Syriac inscriptions, do not have *se'yāmē*.

3. Sumatar Harabesi ; on left of No. 2. From photographs and drawings. (Plate II(a) and Plate III.)



Scale ————— 10 20 30 cms.

1 . . . .

2 . . . . .

ܐܕܢܐ ܒܢܝ ܐܕܢܐ

3 and he has set up (?)

4 I the god



(a) Sumatar Harabesi : Section of Inscription No. 12 (lines 1-4, centre)

(Both the photographs reproduced on this page were taken from above, and allowance should be made for some distortion of perspective.)



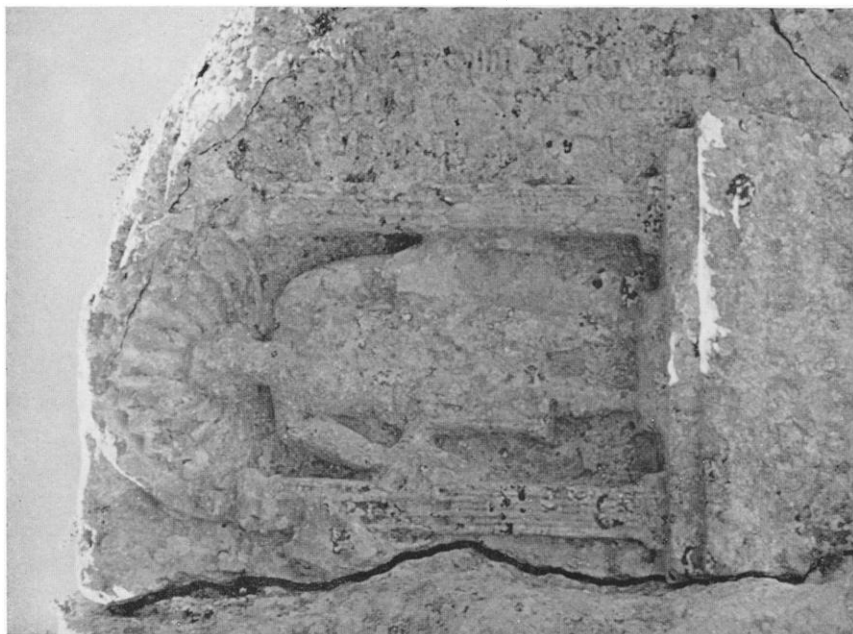
(b) Sumatar Harabesi : Section of Inscription No. 12 (lines 1-4, left)



PLATE II



(a) Sumatar Harabesi: Inscription No. 3 (on left),  
with section of Inscription No. 2



(b) Sumatar Harabesi: Statue in relief, with Inscription No. 4

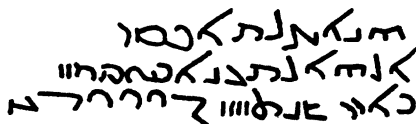
ܡܠܟܢܐ	5	behold him
... ܡܠܟܢܐ ...	6	.....
ܠܗܝܠܝܬܐ ܕܡܠܟܢܐ	7	and he has hidden (?) the treasure (?) <sup>(a)</sup>
ܕܡܠܟܢܐ	8	in that field (?)
ܡܠܟܢܐ	9	I behold
ܡܠܟܢܐ	10	him and lo !
ܡܠܟܢܐ	11	I am Sîn (?) the
ܡܠܟܢܐ	12	god (?)

L. 5 : M.s. act. pt. P<sup>al</sup> with enclitic 1st s. pronoun, *hāzēnā* ; so also l. 9.

L. 7 : (a) So in an Aramaic inscription, probably 5th century, from Tēma ; Cooke, 195, l. 18, 198. In classical Syriac ܠܗܝܠܝܬܐ ܕܡܠܟܢܐ ; see No. 11, l. 3, note (a).

L. 12 : The reading of this inscription is unfortunately doubtful. Nevertheless, it seems clear from ll. 4 f., 9 ff. (where much of the text is certain) that a god is making some formal, solemn declaration. An inscription of this nature with the god speaking in the 1st pers. would be without parallel in Syriac.

4. Sumatar Harabesi ; to right of full-length figure in relief on northern flank of mount. From photographs and drawings. (Plate II(b).)



Scale ————— 10 20 30 cms

ܡܠܟܢܐ ܕܡܠܟܢܐ	1	The god <sup>(a)</sup> commanded <sup>(b)</sup> Ma'nā <sup>(c)</sup>
13 ܡܠܟܢܐ ܕܡܠܟܢܐ	2	(to give) this image on the 13th day
476 ܕܡܠܟܢܐ	3	of Adar in the year 476.

L. 1 : (a) Perhaps Sîn ; see *Anat. Studies*, 114 f.

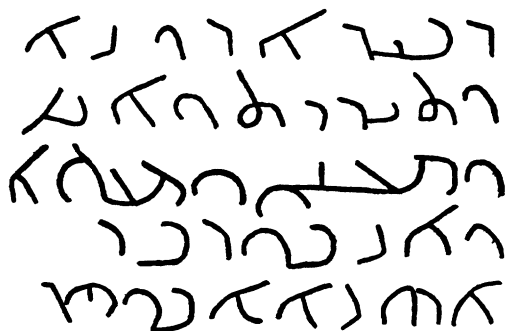
(b) Lit. : this image—the god commanded it with respect to Ma'nā. This rendering of Syr. *pqd* is to be preferred to : the god entrusted it to Ma'nā.

(c) This name occurs also in No. 12, l. 2, and the cognate form Ma'nū is found in No. 5, l. 3, and No. 14, ll. 4, 10, and in the cave inscriptions (Pognon, 32). Ma'nū was the name of several kings of Edessa at this period and of a king of Singara at the time of Trajan ('king of neighbouring Arabia' ; Dio Cassius, lxxviii. 22) ; we find it on the column in the citadel of Urfa (Sachau, 153 ; Pognon, 206), in the 3rd-century contract from Edessa found at Dura (Bellinger, 96, 98), in the inscriptions to Amašmeš outside Edessa (Sachau, 145 ff. ; Pognon, 104), and in the Serrīn inscription (Pognon, 17 ; Moritz, 158 ff.). The name was held by a Christian martyr (Hoffmann, 46, 55). Two Syrian Christian theologians

in the 5th century were called Ma'nā (Baumstark, 105); cf. Ma'nai in *CIS*. 3989, 3921; Cantineau, *Inscr.*, 11; Sobernheim, 32, 43; de Vogüé, i. 27, 41-5; Starcky, 145. This Arabic name appears in its various forms in South Arabia (Ryckmans, 130), Transjordan (Waddington, 2042, 2046, 2095, etc.), Hatra (Caquot, 96), Dura (Cumont, 398), Palmyra (*RES*. 1654; Waddington, 2584; Starcky, 145, 173), and in Nabat. (*RES*. 853, 1186; Littmann, 10, 11). On the deity M'N see Seyrig, *Antiquités syriennes*, ii, 1938, 114 ff.; D. Schlumberger, *Palmyrène du nord-ouest*, 126 f.; Starcky, 146, 154 f.

L. 3: This date occurs also in No. 11, l. 1, and No. 12, l. 1. On the method of indicating numerals see below, p. 35.

5. Sumatar Harabesi; on summit of mount. From drawings.



Scale: ——— 10 20 30 cms.

- |                  |   |                                      |
|------------------|---|--------------------------------------|
| ܐܕܗܢܐ ܕܐܕܢܐ      | 1 | Remembered be Adhōnā                 |
| ܐܢܐ ܕܬܝܪܝܕܐܬ ܐܢܐ | 2 | and Tiridates and Anā <sup>(a)</sup> |
| ܐܢܐ ܕܡܐܢܐ ܐܢܐ    | 3 | and Ma'nū and Ma'tā <sup>(a)</sup>   |
| ܐܢܐ ܕܢܒܘܕ        | 4 | and 'NBWD (?) son of                 |
| ܐܕܗܢܐ ܕܐܕܢܐ      | 5 | Adhōnā his father.                   |

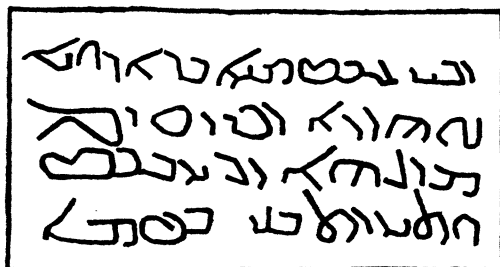
L. 2: (a) So possibly in No. 8, l. 1. In the Syriac inscription near Urfa recorded by Pognon, 82, n. 3, his reading of ܐܢܐ ܕܐܕܢܐ, remembered be Anā, is to be preferred to [ܐܢܐ ܕܐܕܢܐ], Sachau, 160 ff., as I verified by an inspection of the text on the site. The name Anā may occur also in Nabat. (*RES*. 1471). A god of this name appears in an Aramaic inscription of the 4th century B.C. (Cooke, 345).

L. 3: (a) The pr. n. ܡܥܝܬܝ occurs in Palmyr. (Cooke,<sup>3</sup> 305); cf. Nabat. ܡܥܝܬܝ, Greek *Μοειθου* (*RES*. 1095). See Ryckmans, 174. But perhaps ܡܥܝܬܝ here may be connected with the divine name 'T'; cf. No. 13, l. 1, and note (a) therein.

L. 4: This name is found, possibly in a slightly different form, in No. 12,

l. 3, and No. 13, l. 1. Instead of 'NBWD we may read 'NBWR ; less likely is 'NKW<sup>D</sup><sub>R</sub> or 'L<sup>B</sup><sub>K</sub>W<sup>D</sup><sub>R</sub>.

6. Sumatar Harabesi ; on summit of mount. From rubbing and drawings. This inscription is surrounded by a border.



Scale: 10 20 30 cms.

- |                   |   |   |
|-------------------|---|---|
| ܕܒܫܡܝܐ ܕܐܕܗܢܐ     | 1 | Remembered be 'Abhsamyā <sup>(a)</sup> son of Adhōnā      |
| ܕܢܗܕܗܪܐ ܕܒܫܡܝܐ    | 2 | the nūhadhrā ; may he be remembered before                |
| ܕܡܪܝܠܗܐ ܕܒܫܡܝܐ    | 3 | Mārilāhā. <sup>(a)</sup> Remembered be BBS <sup>(b)</sup> |
| ܕܬܝܪܝܕܐܬܝܐ ܕܒܫܡܝܐ | 4 | and Tiridates sons of 'Abhsamyā (?).                      |

L. 1 : (a) So perhaps also in l. 4. This name was in use at Edessa at this period (I. Guidi, *Chronica Minora*, 6, l. 14 ; cf. Baumstark, 67, on an 'Abhsamyā [?] at the end of the 4th century), and the form 'BDSMY' is found at Hatra (Caquot, 97, 99, 104) ; cf. SMY' at Hatra (Caquot, 90, who suggests that this may be the transcription into Syriac of the Greek pl. *σημεῖα*, emblems ; cf. SMY, p. 92) and BRSMY' at Edessa (Bellinger, 98) and in Palmyr. (CIS. 3902 ; Ingholt, *Berytus*, v, fasc. ii, 1938, 124). These names have been associated with a deity Seimios, who is probably mentioned by Lucian, *De dea Syria*, as *Σημήσιον* (see H. Stocks, 'Studien zu Lukians "De Syria Dea"', *Berytus*, iv, 1937, 16 ; Dura, 1935-6, 213, and the refs. given there). But Seimios would doubtless be rendered in these texts as ܫܡܝܐ or ܫܡܝܐ ; cf. ܫܡܝܐ, Cureton, *Spic.*, 45 (= ܡܡ l. 20). *Samyā*, the blind one, may be an epithet of Mars, as among the pagans of Harran according to our late Arab sources ; see Chwolson, ii. 24, 39, 188 f.

For the elision of a dental before a following sibilant in 'BSMY' for 'BDSMY', cf. ܥܒܫܡܝܐ in Palmyr. (Cantineau, *Gram.*, 39) and Amašmeš for Amath Šemeš in the tomb inscriptions outside Urfa (see No. 4, l. 1, note (c)).

L. 2 : This Parthian title appears also in the cave texts (Pognon, 23) and is probably to be restored in the inscription on the column at Urfa. Bar Bahlul translates it 'commander of an army' (Duval, *Lexicon Syriacum* . . . *Bar*

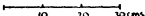
*Bahlul*, 1888, s.v.; Pognon, 28 ff.); see further Payne Smith, Suppl., s.v. The Parthian general who invaded Osrhoene in 354 has the title Nohodares; Ammian. Marc., 14.3.1, 25.3.13. See further N. Giron, 'Notes épigraphiques', *JA*, 11th Ser., 19, Jan.-March 1922, 92f. On Bēth Nūhadhrā see Hoffmann, 208 ff.; it lay between the Tigris and the Khabur, Tur 'Abdin and Gebel Singar.

L. 3: (a) So No. 11, l. 3, and No. 12, l. 8, and in the tomb inscription of G'W (?) (Sachau, 164; Pognon, 80). The reading Mārīlāhā, lord god, is to be preferred to Mārīlāhē, chief of the gods; the latter is shown by two separate words in Acts 14: 11, 12, and Cureton, *Spic.*, 11. 13, 21, etc. For the combination of two words into one, cf. ܡܪܝܠܐܝܗܐ and Nöldeke, *Compendious Syriac Grammar*, tr. Crichton, 1904, 4. (Nöldeke, however, elsewhere proposes the reading Mārēlāhē; *ZDMG.*, xxvi, 1881, 667.) On this deity see *Anat. Studies*, 115 (where it is suggested that he is identical with the supreme god of the 'Sabians' of Harran; Ibn al-Nadīm, our Arab source, however, renders the title as 'chief of the gods', perhaps to avoid giving the impression that the 'Sabians' worshipped Allah), and p. 15 above.

(b) So perhaps No. 13, l. 5. This name with final *s* appears not to be found elsewhere, unless we compare with it Babas in Josephus, *Antiquities*, xv. 7, 10, where, however, *s* probably represents the Greek ending. The name Bābhā was in use at Harran (Baumstark, 11) and at Dura (*Dura*, 1928-9, 146; 1930-1, 120; 1932-3, 253). The cognate form Bābhai was common among Syriac-speaking Christians (Baumstark, 113, 132 f., 137, 212 f.), and was also associated with the area of Harran; it was the name of the copyist of the East Syrian 'Massoretic' manuscript, British Museum Add. 12138. It was also a woman's name; Cureton, ܡܒܐܝܐ l. 1. Cf. the Jewish name ܡܒܐܝܐ; Noth, s.v. Related may be the pr. n. *βουβας, βουβεας* (*Dura*, 1933-5, 447; Cumont, 318 f.; cf. *Dura*, 1931-2, 127). See further Dumesnil du Buisson, *Inventaire des inscriptions palmyréniennes de Doura Europos*, 1939, 58.

7. Sumatar Harabesi; on summit of mount. From drawings.

ܡܬܬܐܪ  
ܡܬܬܐܪ  
ܡܬܬܐܪ

Scale:  10 20 30 cms



Sumatar Harabesi : Bust in relief, with Inscriptions No. **1** (right) and Nos. **2** and **3**

PLATE IV



Sumatar Harabesi : Section of Inscription No. **12** (lines 1-7, right) (Composite photograph)





9. Sumatar Harabesi ; on summit of mount. From drawings.

Scale: ——— 10 20 30 cms.

- |          |   |                  |
|----------|---|------------------|
| דחני     | 1 | Remembered be    |
| אחני     | 2 | 'KYR (?)         |
| ב. דחני. | 3 | son of .DWN. (?) |

L. 2 : The reading is doubtful. It may be 'KYD ; less likely is 'BY<sup>D</sup><sub>R</sub>.

L. 3 : Possibly Adhōnā.

10. Sumatar Harabesi ; on summit of mount. From drawings.

Scale : ——— 10 20 30 cms.

- |            |   |                     |
|------------|---|---------------------|
| דחני ברוני | 1 | Remembered be BRWN' |
| אחני       | 2 | and ŠWTN'           |

L. 1 : Perhaps B<sup>e</sup>rūnā, a diminutive, little son ; cf. Payne Smith, Suppl., s.v. This was the name of a Babylonian Amora. An alternative reading is BDWN'.

L. 2 : I have not been able to trace this name elsewhere.

11. Sumatar Harabesi ; on middle of western edge of summit of edge. From drawings, part from rubbing.

Scale: ——— 10 20 30 cms.

- 476 ܫܒܬܝܢܝܐ 1 At the New Moon of Šebaṭ in the  
year 476
- ܬܝܪܝܕܬܝܬܝܐ ܒܢܐ ܕܐܕܗܘܢܐ ܪܝܫܐ ܕܥܪܒܝܐ 2 I Tiridates son of Adhōnā ruler of  
'Arabh<sup>(a)</sup>
- ܥܒܕ ܕܗܝܠܐ ܕܡܪܝܠܐ ܕܗܝܠܐ ܕܡܪܝܠܐ 3 built this altar and set <sup>(a)</sup> a pillar <sup>(b)</sup> to  
Mārīlāhā
- ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ 4 for the life of my lord the king and his  
sons and for the life of Adhōnā
- ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ 5 my father and for the life of  
MLYWR (?) <sup>(a)</sup> my brother and of  
our sons (?) <sup>(b)</sup>

L. 1 : On the meaning of YRH see No. 12, l. 1 below.

L. 2 : (a) This title is found of three persons in the cave inscriptions ; see Pognon, 28, 30, 32, 34 ff., and *Anat. Studies*, 106. We may add here that the land between the Khabur and the Tigris is already given this name in Achæmenid inscriptions and in Xenophon i.5.1 (401 B.C.). ܐܪܒܝܐ is used of the desert which was under Osrhœnian dominion in Land, *Anecdota Syriaca*, iii.203.10 and perhaps in Cureton, *Spic.*, ܐ 1. 6. Nöldeke (*ZA*, xxi, 153) suggests that ܐܪܒܝܐ is used of the western desert in contrast to ܡܪܝܠܐ ܕܗܝܠܐ, the eastern or Persian desert. The latter name, he points out, is found already in 497–8 (Chabot, *Synodes Nestoriens*, 1902, 66.2), and became the name of a church province. Nöldeke's theory is, however, improbable. ܐܪܒܝܐ is found in Cureton, ܐ 1. 20, of the region of Nisibis, and so perhaps also in Guidi, 'Ostsyrische Bischöfe . . .', *ZDMG.*, xliii, 1889, 399, l. 12. This eastern area, especially around Nisibis, seems to have acquired the additional description of Bēth 'Arbhāyē from its close settlement with 'Arbhāyē, the inhabitants of the desert, by Jovinian in the reign of Julian (Hoffmann, 29 f. ; cf. J. Marquart, *Ērānšahr nach der Geographie des Ps. Moses Xorenac'i*, 162 f.).

L. 3 : (a) Šmt with ܫܡܬ where classical Syriac has ܫܡܬ ; see No. 12, l. 4 (šmn) and No. 3, l. 7, note (a) above. In an inscription from Edessa dated A.D. 201–2 we find the numeral ܬܝܕܝܬܝܐ (Pognon, 77).

(b) The same phrase occurs in No. 12, l. 4. The word for pillar is not usual in Syriac. Zingirli Aramaic has ܢܨܒܐ, Palmyr. ܢܨܒܐ, Nabat. ܢܨܒܐ, Phoenician ܢܨܒܐ, Arabic نصب.

L. 4 : Probably the king of Edessa, Wā'el bar Sahrū ; see *Anat. Studies*, 107.

L. 5 : (a) An alternative reading is MLYWD. The text is, however, uncertain.

(b) This reading is probable but not certain.



L. 2 : (a) Perhaps Maniš, *Μάνης* ; see Wuthnow, s.v., and Starcky, 161.

(b) This name appears not to occur elsewhere. But we may perhaps connect it with the *nisbah* of the astronomer Albattāni (Abu 'Abdallah Muhammad ibn Gābir ibn Sinān), who was born before 858 probably at Harran of a 'Sabian' family. For such an adjectival form see Wright, *Arabic Grammar*, i. 267.

L. 3 : (a) 'Bēl has built' ; so also No. 13, l. 2 ; cf. Labūbhnā, 'Labū (or Nabū) has built' ; Phillips, *Doctrine of Addai*, ܠܒܒܝܢܐ, l. 17. On the significance of the mention of Bēl in the Sumatar texts, see *Anat. Studies*, 112. KLBN<sup>3</sup>, Kalbānā, is a possible reading here, but less likely from the form of the letters.

(b) Or : brother ; see 2, l. 5 above.

L. 5 : (a) The order of the words is of interest. It appears that when the subst. is not qualified by an adj., the demonstr. adj. follows (e.g. ܕܝܚܕܐ ܕܡܪܝܢ) ; where it is followed by an adj., as here, the demonstr. adj. precedes.

(b) On sacred stools see S. A. Cook, *Religion of Ancient Palestine in the light of Archæology*, 1930, 21 ff.

(c) For this meaning of ܕܝܚܕܐ see Payne Smith, s.v. After ܕܡܪܝܢ in such a phrase the relative ܐ is usually found, as in l. 7 below. In the inscription on the tomb of G'W (?) Sachau, 164, reads ܕܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܢ, while Pognon, 80, reads ܕܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܢ ; Pognon (who was generally more successful in deciphering Syriac texts) is to be followed. We need not, however, regard his reading as a grammatical 'improvement', as is suggested by Nöldeke, *ZA.*, xxi, 1908, 155.

L. 6 : (a) Tiridates, as later in the same line and in No. 11.

(b) In this 2nd-century text the prefix of the 3rd m.s. impf. is *y* (ll. 6, 7, 8) ; it is also *y* in the inscription from Serrīn of the previous century. In the undated tomb-inscription of G'W (?), which probably belongs to the 3rd century, we have the prefix *n* (Sachau, 164 ; Pognon, 80) as in classical Syriac. A recent discussion of the Aramaic prefixes *y*, *l*, *n* may be found in F. Rosenthal, *Die Sprache der palmyrenischen Inschriften*, 1936, 54-5.

(c) Or : BWDR (?) shall be after Tiridates . . . The meaning of this word BW<sup>DR</sup><sub>RD</sub> (less likely KW<sup>DR</sup><sub>RD</sub>) is unfortunately obscure. Semitic verbal and nominal roots with the significance 'scatter', 'be early', 'full moon' (cf. Ryckmans, 49) seem inappropriate. A pr. n. BDR, Budar, occurs in Nabat. ; *RES.* 806, Cantineau, *Nab.*, 15, cf. W. K. Prentice, *Greek and Latin Inscriptions*, 1908, 324, and Wuthnow, s. βαδαρος, βαδρος, βιδρος. It is tempting to read ܕܡܪܝܢ here and to associate it with the strange بنو البوغدريين and بيت البوغدريين mentioned by Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, ix.1 (ed. Flügel, i. 326 f.), in his account of the mysteries of the Harranian 'Sabians'. See Chwolson, ii. 319 ff. ; his suggested etymology of the word is on p. 352. It is, however, possible that we should read KW<sup>D</sup><sub>R</sub> instead of BW<sup>DR</sup><sub>RD</sub>. KWDR recalls the Punic word *lebechædre* in the *Poenulus* of Plautus, l. 995. This is rendered 'senator' by L. H. Gray, 'The Punic Passages in the "Poenulus" of Plautus', *AJSLL.*,

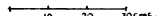
xxxix, 1923, 80, who explains it by Arabic رج, old man, and Phœnician 𐤏𐤍𐤕, mighty. We may regard it rather as compounded from  $l + b + KDR$  'belonging to in the Senate'; the meaning 'Senate, council' would be appropriate in the context of this inscription. It should, however, be remarked that a Semitic root KDR appears to occur nowhere else, and the significance of the word in Plautus is by no means clear.

(d) See No. 11, l. 2, 'ruler of Arabh'.

L. 9: (a) Or: we know; the reading of the last word is not certain. The ceremonies recorded in Nos. 11 and 12 are to be related to the larger events of 165. In that year Edessa was on the point of falling to the Romans. Tiridates, ruler of Arabh was doubtless, as his name suggests, a supporter of the Parthian cause. On 1st Šebaṭ he performed solemn rites in honour of Mārīlāhā at Sumatar and affirmed his loyalty to the king, probably Wā'el son of Sahrū, king of Edessa (No. 11). On the same day MNYŠ and other persons made declaration of their own loyalty to Tiridates (No. 12). See *Anat. Studies*, 105 ff. (The translation of No. 12, ll. 6–9, given there has been revised in the present article.)

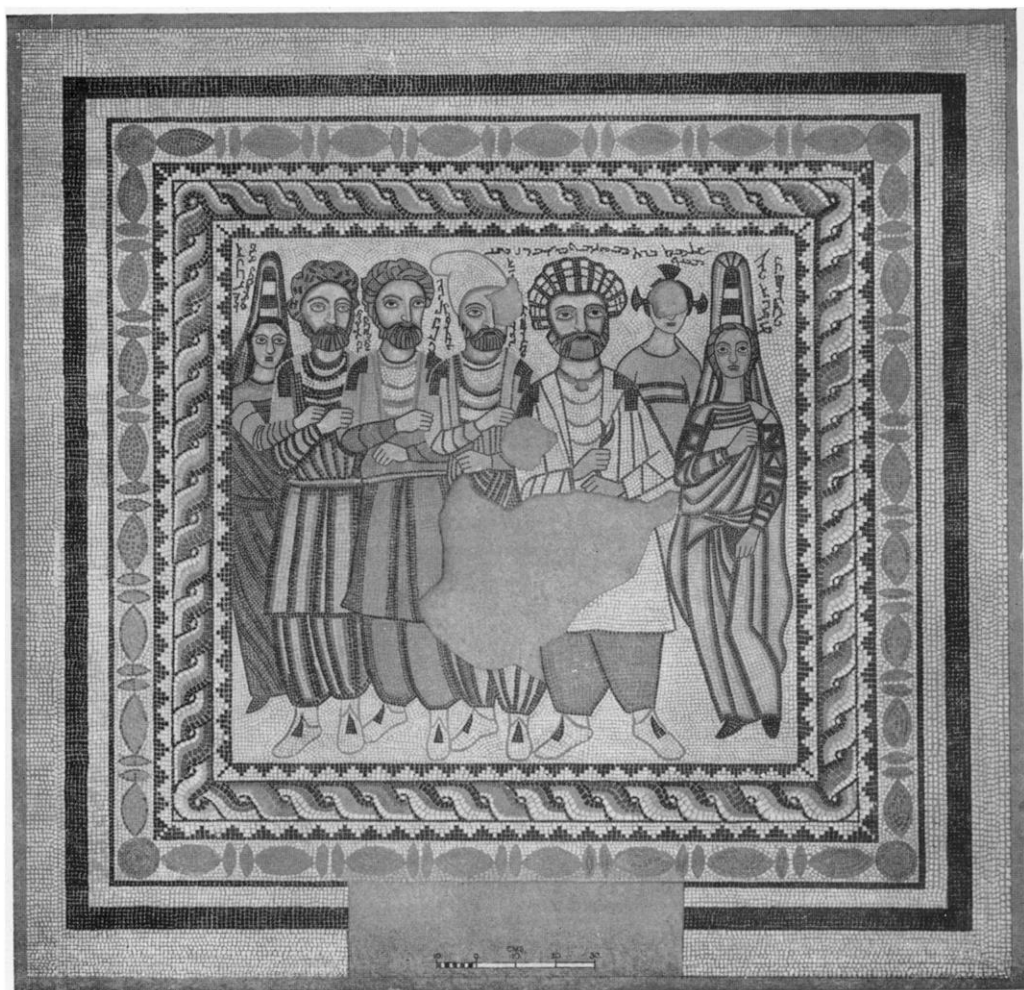
13. Sumatar Harabesi; on summit of mount. From drawings, part from rubbing.

זכור לבד'ת' בן' אדחנא  
בן' בר' . . . . . מ. נ. ' . ת. . . ק. מ. י. ' .  
בן' . . . . . מ. נ. ' . ת. . . ק. מ. י. ' .  
בן' . . . . . מ. נ. ' . ת. . . ק. מ. י. ' .  
בן' . . . . . מ. נ. ' . ת. . . ק. מ. י. ' .  
בן' . . . . . מ. נ. ' . ת. . . ק. מ. י. ' .

Scale:  10 20 30 cms.

- |   |   |   |
|---|---|---|
| זכור לבד'ת' בן' אדחנא                           | 1 | Remembered be 'LBWD (?) son of 'BD'T' (?) (a) |
| בן' בר' . . . . . מ. נ. ' . ת. . . ק. מ. י. ' . | 2 | and Bēlb'nā son of Adhōnā                     |
| בן' . . . . . מ. נ. ' . ת. . . ק. מ. י. ' .     | 3 | and Bar (?) . . . . . son of                  |
| בן' . . . . . מ. נ. ' . ת. . . ק. מ. י. ' .     | 4 | . . M . N . ' . T . . KMY (?)                 |
| בן' . . . . . מ. נ. ' . ת. . . ק. מ. י. ' .     | 5 | W . ' son of (?) BBS (?)                      |
| בן' . . . . . מ. נ. ' . ת. . . ק. מ. י. ' .     | 6 | . . Š son of (?) BRY' (?)                     |

L. 1: (a) For the first three letters, cf. No. 14, l. 5, and note (a) therein. The name of the deity 'T' is also found in the pr. n. BR'T' in inscriptions near Edessa (Sachau, 148; Moritz, 165 f.; Pognon, 78, 85) and in another inscription apparently from the same neighbourhood and published by E. Renan



Urfa : Mosaic floor with Inscription No. 14

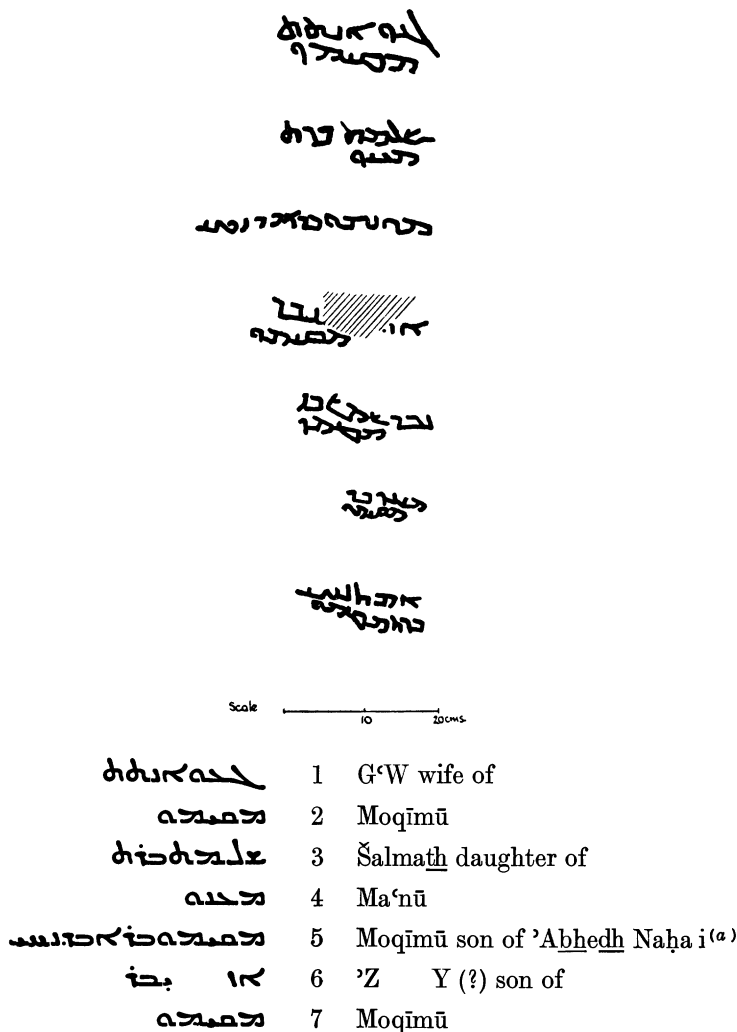
(Reproduced by courtesy of the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, from *Anatolian Studies*, Volume III, 1953.)

(*JA.*, Feb.-March, 1893, 240, pl. ii, line 4 on left and last line on right; Renan's reading is inaccurate). BR'T' occurs in Palmyr. and elsewhere (e.g. *Dura*, 1928-9, 146; *Dura*, 1933-5, 308; Starcky, 145 f.; Février, 127 ff.). The simple pr. n. 'T' is also found in Palmyr.; Starcky, 'Autour d'une dédicace palmyrénienne . . .', *Syria*, xxvi, 1949, 44, no. i.

L. 4: This and the two following lines may be a later addition. They are written in smaller characters.

L. 6: Perhaps MR'Y?, lord.

14. Urfa; on mosaic floor to south of citadel. (For colour plate see *Illustrated London News*, 21st February, 1953.) From rubbing and photograph. (Plate V.)



ܒܚܕܗܬܐ	8	‘ <u>ē</u> h <u>ē</u> dh Šēmeš son of
ܡܩܝܡܐ	9	Moqīmū
ܡܐܢܐ	10	Ma‘nū son of
ܡܩܝܡܐ	11	Moqīmū
ܐܡܬܐ	12	Amath <u>h</u> Naḥai
ܐܡܬܐܡܩܝܡܐ	13	daughter of Moqīmū

L. 1 : This name should possibly be read in the tomb inscription near Urfa in which Mārīlāhā is adjured to protect the remains of the dead, rather than ‘YW as Sachau, 164, and Pognon, 80. Perhaps cf. ܢܥܝ in Phœnician (*RES.* 1536, 1545).

L. 2 : This pr. n. is found in the cave texts at Sumatar (Pognon, 32), in Syriac inscriptions near Urfa (Pognon, 77) and in the 3rd-century document from Edessa found at Dura (Bellinger, 98). It occurs frequently in Palmyr. (*RES.* 729, 735, 746, 1621, 1624, etc. ; Sobernheim, 19, 46, 50, 54 f. ; de Vogüé, i. 6, 12, 22, etc. ; Starcky, 156, 158, 164), at Dura (*Dura*, 1928, 61 ; *Dura*, 1928–9, 120), and in Nabat. (*RES.* 1181 ; Cantineau, *Nab.*, 142). A form MQYMY is found in Palmyr. (Starcky, 159).

L. 3 : So in the column inscription at Urfa ; the wife of King Abhgār Ukāmā was called Šalmath (Phillips, *Doctrine of Addai*, 9). The name is common in Palmyr. (*RES.* 515, 738, 753, 988, 993, 1640 ; Starcky, 158 ; cf. *Dura*, 1931–2, 114 f.) and elsewhere (in Nabat. שלמת and שלימת, Cantineau, *Nab.*, 33, 150 ; in Hebrew, שלמית, perhaps שולמית).

On the historical background of this Šalmath of Edessa, see *Anat. Studies*, 118 f.

L. 5 : (a) The initial ālaph is certain. The ‘weakening’ of ‘ē to ālaph is the more striking here because we have in the same text the name ‘ēhēdh Šēmeš, where the ‘ē is retained. Early examples of this ‘weakening’ are found in Aramaic (*RES.* 962), Palmyr. (Starcky, 145, 163 f.) and perhaps in Phœnician (*RES.* 902) ; it is regular usage in Mandæan. The divine name Naḥai occurs in the Serrīn inscription ( $\frac{RD}{DR}N\dot{H}Y$ , Pognon, 17, but Moritz reads  $\frac{RD}{DR}N\dot{H}P$  ; cf. in the same inscription  $\frac{DR}{RD}WN\dot{H}P$ ) and in Palmyr. (Starcky, 149–150).

L. 6 : The first two letters are certain ; the last may be not Y but ‘.

L. 8 : On the worship of the god Šamaš in Osroene, see *Anat. Studies*, 107 ff.

L. 12 : cf. the name Amath Sīn, a slave girl at Edessa (Bellinger, 96 ff.), and Amašmeš, for Amath Šēmeš (No. 6, l. 1, n. (a), p. 21).

#### APPENDIX

##### *Syriac Letters and Numerals*

##### 1. *The Sources*

The three dated inscriptions from Sumatar provide useful data on the



evolution of Syriac script. A comparative table of Syriac letters is given on p. 32 in cols. I-VII. With the exception of col. I and col. VII, all these forms are drawn from sources whose provenance is Osrhoene.

Col. I is from the bilingual inscription of ŠDN Queen of Adiabene. It was found at Jerusalem, and belongs to the middle of the 1st century A.D. We do not know the place of origin of the writer of the inscription, but the language is certainly Syriac.<sup>1</sup> Col. II is taken from the inscription of Ma'nū at Serrīn.<sup>2</sup> This is dated in the month of the former Tīšri 385, that is A.D. 73, and is the earliest dated Syriac monument extant. The script of the following century represented in Col. III is drawn from the three Sumatar inscriptions dated Šebaṭ-Adar 476, that is A.D. 165.<sup>3</sup> The Syriac legends on the coins of Wā'el and Ma'nū kings of Edessa<sup>4</sup> belong to this stage of development; so, too, do the undated inscriptions from Sumatar, both those recorded by Pognon<sup>5</sup> and those discussed in the present article. 'Irregular' forms occurring in these undated inscriptions, in the mosaic from Urfa,<sup>6</sup> and in the inscription on the column in Urfa citadel<sup>7</sup> are given in Col. IV.<sup>8</sup> A later stage is shown in Col. V, whose characters are drawn from an inscription at Kirk Mağara, outside Urfa, dated A.D. 201-2.<sup>9</sup> Col. VI is from the oldest dated Syriac manuscript extant to-day, British Museum Add. 12150; this is dated A.D. 411, and was written at Edessa (Urfa). The writing of this beautiful manuscript is already an elegant Estrangelā. Col. VII shows the Estrangelā characters of a stone inscription also of the 5th century. This is from Bāšūfān, in Syria<sup>10</sup>; it records the completion of a church in the year 544 of the era of Antioch, that is A.D. 496, and was doubtless set up in that year or shortly afterwards.

Monumental and cursive Palmyr. are given in Cols. VIII and IX respectively.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The text used is that of Lidzbarski, ii. Taf. xliii, No. 7. The two undated inscriptions to Amašmeš (one is bilingual) at Dēr Ya'qūb, near Urfa, are commonly regarded as Syriac of the 1st century A.D.; so Sachau, 145, and Pognon, 19 f., 105 f. I have followed this view in *Anat. Studies*, 116. A closer examination of these inscriptions, however, has led me to believe that they are not in Syriac but in Palmyr. characters. The close resemblance between many letters in Syriac and the corresponding letters in lapidary and cursive Palmyr. is shown in the table on p. 32. The form of the letters 𐤒 and 𐤓 in the Amašmeš inscriptions are, however, clearly lapidary Palmyr. and not Syriac. Moreover, the spelling of ܐܬܡܫܐ, his wife, in the bilingual inscription would be irregular for Syriac (which retains the ܐ); it is the usual form in Palmyr. (cf. Cantineau, *Gram.*, 46, 100).

<sup>2</sup> The text used is that of Pognon, Planche xiv, No. 2; cf. his comments on p. 19 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Nos. 4, 11, and 12 of the present article.

<sup>4</sup> G. F. Hill, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Arabia, Mesopotamia, and Persia*, 1922, 91 f.; see also A. R. Bellinger, *Yale Classical Studies*, XII, 1951, 264.

<sup>5</sup> Above, p. 13 f.

<sup>6</sup> No. 14 of the present article.

<sup>7</sup> The text used is Pognon, pl. xlii, no. 118.

<sup>8</sup> In Cols. III and IV letters are taken from the Sumatar inscriptions only where the reading is certain.

<sup>9</sup> The text is from Pognon, Planche xxii, nos. 36 and 37; see his p. 77, and Moritz, 161.

<sup>10</sup> The text used is that of Littmann, *Publications of the Princeton University Expeditions to Syria in 1904-5 and 1909*, Div. IV, Semitic Inscriptions: Section B, 'Syriac Inscriptions', 1934, 39 f.

<sup>11</sup> From the tables in Cantineau, *Gram.*, 34, and opp. p. 30.

S Y R I A C								PALMYRENE	
	I c.45 A.D.	II 73 A.D.	III 165 A.D.	IV late 2 <sup>nd</sup> - early 3 <sup>rd</sup> century A.D.	V 201-2 A.D.	VI 411 A.D. (manuscript)	VII c.496 A.D.	lapidary	cursive
א	Ⲁ	ⲀⲀⲀ	ⲀⲀⲀ	Ⲁ	ⲀⲀⲀ	ⲀⲀⲀ	Ⲁ	ⲀⲀ	ⲀⲀ
ב		ⲀⲀⲀ	ⲀⲀⲀ	Ⲁ	ⲀⲀⲀ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	ⲀⲀ	ⲀⲀ
ג				Ⲁ		Ⲁ		Ⲁ	Ⲁ
ד	Ⲁ	ⲀⲀ	Ⲁ		Ⲁ	ⲀⲀ	Ⲁ	ⲀⲀ	ⲀⲀ
ה		ⲀⲀⲀ	ⲀⲀⲀ		Ⲁ	ⲀⲀ	ⲀⲀ	ⲀⲀ	ⲀⲀ
ו		ⲀⲀⲀ	ⲀⲀⲀ	Ⲁ	ⲀⲀⲀ	ⲀⲀⲀ	ⲀⲀ	ⲀⲀ	ⲀⲀ
ז				Ⲁ		Ⲁ		Ⲁ	
ח		ⲀⲀ	ⲀⲀⲀ		Ⲁ	ⲀⲀ	Ⲁ	ⲀⲀ	ⲀⲀ
ט		Ⲁ	ⲀⲀⲀ			Ⲁ	Ⲁ	ⲀⲀ	Ⲁ
י		ⲀⲀⲀ	ⲀⲀⲀ	ⲀⲀⲀ	Ⲁ	ⲀⲀ	ⲀⲀ	ⲀⲀ	ⲀⲀ
כ	Ⲁ	ⲀⲀⲀ	ⲀⲀⲀ	ⲀⲀⲀ	Ⲁ <sup>fin</sup>	Ⲁ <sup>fin</sup>	ⲀⲀ	ⲀⲀ	ⲀⲀ
ל	Ⲁ	ⲀⲀⲀ	ⲀⲀⲀ		ⲀⲀ	ⲀⲀ	ⲀⲀ	ⲀⲀ	ⲀⲀ
מ	Ⲁ	ⲀⲀⲀ	ⲀⲀⲀ	Ⲁ	ⲀⲀⲀ	Ⲁ <sup>fin</sup>	Ⲁ	ⲀⲀ	ⲀⲀ
נ	Ⲁ <sup>fin</sup>	ⲀⲀⲀ <sup>fin</sup>	ⲀⲀⲀ <sup>fin</sup>	Ⲁ	ⲀⲀⲀ	Ⲁ <sup>fin</sup>	Ⲁ <sup>fin</sup>	ⲀⲀ <sup>fin</sup>	ⲀⲀ <sup>fin</sup>
ס			ⲀⲀⲀ	ⲀⲀⲀ	ⲀⲀⲀ	ⲀⲀⲀ	Ⲁ	ⲀⲀ	ⲀⲀ
ע		ⲀⲀ	ⲀⲀ		ⲀⲀ	ⲀⲀ	Ⲁ	ⲀⲀ	ⲀⲀ
פ		ⲀⲀ	ⲀⲀⲀ	ⲀⲀ		ⲀⲀ	ⲀⲀ	ⲀⲀ	
צ	Ⲁ		ⲀⲀ			Ⲁ		ⲀⲀ	
ק		ⲀⲀⲀ	ⲀⲀⲀ	ⲀⲀⲀ	ⲀⲀⲀ	ⲀⲀⲀ	Ⲁ	ⲀⲀⲀ	ⲀⲀⲀ
ר		ⲀⲀⲀ	ⲀⲀⲀ		ⲀⲀⲀ	ⲀⲀⲀ	Ⲁ	ⲀⲀⲀ	ⲀⲀⲀ
ש		ⲀⲀⲀ	ⲀⲀⲀ	Ⲁ	ⲀⲀⲀ	ⲀⲀⲀ	ⲀⲀ	ⲀⲀⲀ	ⲀⲀⲀ
ת		ⲀⲀⲀ	ⲀⲀⲀ		ⲀⲀⲀ	ⲀⲀⲀ	ⲀⲀ	ⲀⲀⲀ	ⲀⲀⲀ

## 2. Notes on Individual Letters

Ⲁ As in Estrangelā.

Ⲁ In the 1st century (Col. II) this is rounded and resembles the Estrangelā Ⲁ; it is distinguished from Ⲁ by its greater size. The early form is preserved in one dated inscription of the following century (Sumatar No. 4, in Col. III), but in other contemporary inscriptions (Sumatar Nos. 11 and 12, also in Col. III) it tends to become more angular. This angular shape then becomes rectangular with rounded corners (Col. V), the distinctive form that is familiar in Estrangelā and in later Syriac (Cols. VI, VII).

Ⲁ As in Estrangelā; when the tail is shortened or omitted, this letter is easily confused with Ⲁ.

ⲅ Normally forms an obtuse angle, not a right angle as frequently in Estrangelā (Col. VI) and regularly in later Syriac. It is identical with ⲅ; points to distinguish the two letters do not appear in stone inscriptions until after the 3rd century, firstly with ⲅ (although somewhat hesitantly), later with ⲅ.

Ⲇ The broad shape of the 1st century in which the central downward stroke is normally attached to the right leg (Col. II) becomes more compact and angular in the following century, and the central downward stroke is suspended from the middle of the horizontal top line (Col. III). In the 3rd century the left leg is rounded (Col. V), and the shape of the letter is already that of Estrangelā.

ⲇ In the 1st century it has a long tail (Col. II); in the 2nd century the tail has largely disappeared (Col. III; but cf. Col. IV). In the 3rd century it has the shape of the letter in Estrangelā (Cols. V-VII).

Ⲉ As in Estrangelā.

ⲉ In the 1st century the left leg is curved and attached to the middle of the perpendicular right leg (Col. II). In the following century the left leg is also perpendicular and joined to the right leg by a diagonal stroke (Col. III). In Estrangelā this diagonal stroke becomes rounded.

Ⲋ The early forms are rounded (Cols. II and III), instead of angular as in Estrangelā.

ⲋ In the 1st century this letter is rounded like Ⲋ but smaller (Col. II). In the next century it tends to become nearly straight, sometimes with a horizontal head (Col. III). With the omission of this head it assumes its usual form in Estrangelā (Cols. IV and V).

Ⲍ The distinctive feature of this letter is the back sloping downwards towards the right. This tends to make the Ⲍ of the 1st century angular (Col. II); in the 2nd century it has become rounded (Col. III), and resembles the shape of the letter in Estrangelā. The final letter does not, if we may judge from our limited data, appear before the 3rd century.

ⲍ As in Estrangelā. In the 1st century it may be confused with Ⲏ (Col. II). The next stage, however, shows the ⲍ to be long and normally at an angle of about 70° to its base (Col. III); Ⲏ, on the other hand, is shorter and stands at right-angles to its base.

ⲏ As in Estrangelā. The final form is apparently not found in regular use before the 5th century; but in an undated inscription of the 2nd century from Sumatar (No. 6 in the present article; Col. IV) the ⲏ occurs once as the last letter of a word which is extended to the end of the line and resembles the final form of a later age.

Ⲑ As in Estrangelā; see on ⲑ. The final form of Ⲑ appears already in the 1st century (Col. I). There, however, it is joined to the previous letter by a line half-way up the diagonal stroke of the final Ⲑ (Col. II); in the next century the junction takes place at the top (Col. III), as in Estrangelā.

ⲑ As in Estrangelā. An alternative form of the 2nd century in which the left side of the ⲑ is not closed (Col. III) resembles the form of the letter in Palmyr.

𐤆 As in Estrangelā. It is distinguished from 𐤇 by its smaller size and its more acute angle.

𐤇 In the 1st and 2nd centuries this letter may be confused with 𐤈, but its distinctive feature is the sharply rounded head (Cols. II and III). The head is accentuated by an inward curve already in the inscription of the column at Urfa of the late 2nd or early 3rd century (Col. IV); we then have the usual shape of the letter in Estrangelā.

𐤈 As in Estrangelā, but the foot is shorter.

𐤉 In the 1st and 2nd centuries and even later this has the form of an oval with a perpendicular arm on the left side (Cols. II, III, and IV). When it is attached not only to a preceding but also to a following letter in the mosaic inscription of Urfa of the late 2nd or the early 3rd century (No. 14 of this article; Col. IV) it has acquired an oblong shape as in Estrangelā.

𐤊 As 𐤇; see above.

𐤋 In the 1st and 2nd centuries the arms are straight (Cols. II and III); they become curved in the 3rd century (Col. V). In one inscription of the 2nd century 𐤋 is joined to the following as well as to the preceding letter (No. 12 in the present article; Col. III) and we have the basis of the Estrangelā form. The two arms are united in the 5th century by a horizontal stroke (Col. VII).

𐤌 As in Estrangelā. The loop at the bottom left corner is omitted in the 1st century (Col. I) and even in the 2nd century (Col. III); the form then resembles that of cursive Palmyr.

### 3. *Joined Letters*

A study of these dated Syriac texts shows clearly the gradual increase in the frequency of joined letters. In the brief ŠDN inscription only one group of joined letters, 𐤇𐤌, occurs. In the Serrīn inscription later in the 1st century 𐤇𐤌 are always, 𐤊 frequently, and 𐤈 sometimes joined to the following letter. In two dated Sumatar inscriptions of the next century (Nos. 11 and 12 in this article) 𐤇𐤌𐤋𐤉𐤕 and 𐤍 (the last letter, however, occurs only once) are invariably joined to the following letter; 𐤋 is frequently joined to the following letter. The junction of 𐤈 to both the preceding and the following letters gives us the basis of its form in Estrangelā. (In the same way we have the Estrangelā form of 𐤉 in the mosaic inscription from Urfa where it is joined to the following as well as the preceding letter.) But the Sumatar inscription which is called No. 4 in this article shows how much depends upon the idiosyncrasy of the writer. In this short text, dated six weeks after the others at Sumatar, the only groups of joined letters are 𐤍𐤋 and 𐤇𐤌. The Kirk Mağara inscription of the 3rd century confirms the trend of earlier inscriptions; 𐤉, however, is again not attached to the following letter. In manuscripts and inscriptions of the 5th century letters are already united in the same way as in later Syriac; only 𐤇 continued for some time to be joined to the preceding but not to the following letter.

4. *Points*

On the points distinguishing ܐ from ܐ, see above p. 33.

*S̥yāmē*, the two points that mark the pl. (ܐ), appear regularly in manuscripts of the 5th century. They appear to be not used, however, in stone inscriptions, even of as late a date as the 5th century.

The diacritical point to distinguish homographs does not apparently occur in stone inscriptions.

5. *Numerals*

The method of expressing numerals in the Sumatar inscriptions of the 2nd century differs little from that of the previous century; our data, however, are sadly insufficient. Variations appear in the digits. The numeral 1 is a simple vertical stroke, as earlier. 2 is shown by the combination of || into 𐤀; this bears a close resemblance to the Arabic numeral. 5 is 𐤅, as in later Syriac manuscripts. The number 6 is shown in the dated Sumatar inscriptions in three different ways: by ||||| in No. 11—similarly 5 is shown in the Serrin inscription by ||||; by 𐤍𐤍 in No. 12; and, finally, by 𐤅 in No. 4. All the Sumatar inscriptions agree in representing 10 by 𐤌, 20 by 𐤋, and 100 by 𐤓 (the sign for 10 with a tail); the two latter signs are found in the Serrin inscription.<sup>1</sup>

## PRINCIPAL ABBREVIATIONS

*Anat. Studies* = J. B. Segal, 'Pagan Syriac Inscriptions in the Vilayet of Urfa', *Anatolian Studies*, iii, 1953, p.

Baumstark = A. Baumstark, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur*, 1922, p.

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Cantineau, *Gram.* = J. Cantineau, *Grammaire de palmyrénien épigraphique*, 1935, p.

Cantineau, *Inscr.* = J. Cantineau, *Inscriptions palmyréniennes*, 1930, p.

Cantineau, *Nab.* = J. Cantineau, *Le nabatéen*, ii, 1932, p.

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*CIS.* = *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, No.

Cooke = G. A. Cooke, *Text-book of North Semitic Inscriptions*, 1903, p.

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Cureton = W. Cureton, *Ancient Syriac Documents*, 1864, p.

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De Vogüé = C. J. M. de Vogüé, *Inscriptions sémitiques*, 1868-1877, p.

Dura = P. V. C. Baur, M. I. Rostovtzeff, etc., *Excavations at Dura-Europos*, 1929-1946, p.

Février = J. G. Février, *Religion des Palmyréniens*, 1931, p.

Hoffmann = G. Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus syrischen Akten persischer Märtyrer*, 1880, p.

*JA.* = *Journal asiatique*.

Lidzbarski = M. Lidzbarski, *Handbuch der nordsemitischen Epigraphik*, 1898, p.

Littmann = E. Littmann, 'Nabatean Inscriptions from Egypt', *BSOAS.*, xv, 1953, p. 1.

Moritz = B. Moritz in M. von Oppenheim, *Inscripfen aus Syrien, Mesopotamien und Kleinasien*, 1913.

Noth = M. Noth, *Israelitische Personennamen im Rahmen der gemeinsemitischen Namengebung*, 1928, p.

<sup>1</sup> On numerical symbols in Syriac see Duval, *Traité de grammaire syriaque*, 1881, xv; Lidzbarski, 198 ff.

Payne Smith = R. Payne Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus*, 1868-1927.

Pognon = H. Pognon, *Inscriptions sémitiques de la Syrie, de la Mésopotamie et de la région de Mossoul*, 1907, p.

*RES.* = *Répertoire d'épigraphie sémitique*, 1900- , No.

Ryckmans = G. Ryckmans, *Noms propres sud-sémitiques*, tome i, 1934, p.

Sachau = E. C. Sachau, 'Edessenische Inschriften', *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, xxxvi, 1882, p.

Sobernheim = M. Sobernheim, *Palmyrenische Inschriften*, 1905, p.

Starcky = H. Ingholt and J. Starcky in D. Schlumberger, *La Palmyrène du nord-ouest*, 1951. p.

Waddington = Ph. Le Bas and W. H. Waddington, *Inscriptions grecques et latines recueillies en Grèce et en Asie Mineure*, 1870, No.

Wuthnow = H. Wuthnow, *Semitische Menschnamen in griechischen Inschriften und Papyri des vorderen Orients*, 1930.

*ZA.* = *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und verwandte Gebiete*.

*ZDMG.* = *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*.